

TOP SECRET/ [REDACTED]

25X1

I. Key Judgments about Regime Actions

- Through its behavior during negotiations with Solidarity, regime had shown by late November that it was not willing to share power. [REDACTED] 25X1
- Decision to invoke martial law was probably taken about one week ago. [REDACTED] 25X1
- This decision was taken when there was strong rhetoric and political maneuvering by both sides, but when the country was quiet (only students were on strike). [REDACTED] 25X1
- Soviets were involved at this stage publicly through intensified propaganda attacks on Solidarity and the Church and privately through participation in martial law preparations. [REDACTED] 25X1
- Solidarity meeting in Gdansk was not the precipitating factor behind imposition of martial law, but it offered a perfect pretext and tactical opportunity to move against the Solidarity leadership. [REDACTED] 25X1

II. What to Expect

- We expect resistance from the workers and students. The unresolved question at this point is whether the measures taken by the regime will prove successful in preventing such resistance from becoming pervasive and well organized, leading to widespread violence that would severely test the loyalty of the militia and army. [REDACTED] 25X1
- There is a possibility that the Soviets will help the Poles pay the \$500 million due the Western banks this month.-- recent Soviet cutbacks in oil exports to Eastern Europe may have been intended to produce additional hard currency for this purpose. Such assistance would be intended in part to help minimize Western reaction to the suppression of Solidarity. The Polish regime itself will continue to claim that its actions are intended to prevent chaos, preserve "socialism," and maintain stability in Europe. The Soviets can be expected to press the other East European regimes to share the costs, both economic and political, of Soviet perfidy.

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